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ANCIENT CITIES OF IRAQ

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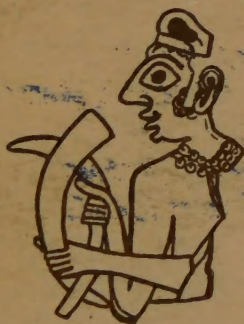


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ANCIENT CITIES OF IRAQ

DOROTHY MACKAY.



A PRACTICAL HANDBOOK

PUBLISHED BY
K. MACKENZIE, THE BOOK SHOP, BAGHDAD, IRAQ.



THE ANCIENT CITIES OF IRAQ.

DOROTHY MACKAY.

Published by
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THE
ANCIENT CITIES OF IRAQ

BY

DOROTHY MACKAY.

With Map, Plans and Photographs.

Published by
K. MACKENZIE,
The Book Shop,
BAGHDAD, IRAQ.

1926.

ANCIENT CITIES OF IRAQ

DOROTHY MACKAY

With Map, Plans and Photographs

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FOREWORD.

THE Land of the Two Rivers, the Euphrates and Tigris, presents a very striking contrast with both Egypt and the Holy Land. After the rocky desert and towering cliffs which border the Nile Valley, the stony hills of Judæa, Galilee and Moab, and the lofty tree-clad Lebanon, the uncompromisingly flat, greyish, dusty plain of Iraq calls for the eye of faith and the exercise of imagination.

But first impressions will not long hold sway. For him who has vision, who can picture this strange country as it once was—as it yet again may be,—it speedily acquires a subtle and mysterious attraction.

The cradle of mankind, it has been fitly called. Three millenia before our area its people were at a stage of civilisation which only millenia—not centuries—of struggle and invention, thought and the evolution of law and order could have produced. All that desolate plain is furrowed even now with the web-like pattern of a ruined irrigation system, which—on a colossal scale that would do credit even to the modern engineer—once watered vast fields of corn and made the country the granary of the East. Orchards and gardens, too, we must picture around the villages and hamlets, whose ruins we see on every side—low, irregular mounds besprinkled o'er with

numberless potsherds and broken bricks, an occasional bead or cylinder seal, even flint knives or fragments of inscriptions. Huge cities there were, encircled with vast walls that can still be traced. Each in turn mistress of the land—on occasion, mistress of the civilised world,—they were not only wealthy emporia of trade, but active centres of religion, politics, learning and philosophy.

For centuries now all has been desolation, since the days when Hulagu and his Mongol hordes overran the country and bled it well-nigh to death by breaching its canals. The invading hosts passed on; but ere recovery was possible, the country was swept once more by the destructive might of Timur the Lame. Nor did the Turk, during the centuries he held sway, do ought to aid the convalescence of the ruined land,

No attempt will be made here to give a general outline of the history of the Land between the Rivers. For no brief summary can maintain the proper balance of its periods, and of the many races and vicissitudes, creeds and philosophies that have gone to make up the kaleidoscopic whole. A list of the chief periods with their probable dates, in which I have followed the Cambridge Ancient History, to whose writers I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness, is given on page 66. To it the reader is asked to refer as he scans the brief notes on the various historical sites that he visits. The appended bibliography will help him to add to his knowledge of those peoples, periods and places that interest him most.

In compiling this little guide-book, I have observed two limitations. Firstly, the term "ancient" has been taken to mean "pre-Islamic", and, in consequence, no account is given of the Holy Cities or of Moslem buildings of importance, whether religious or secular. Secondly, directions for reaching sites of archæological interest are only given in cases where the journey is practicable and excavation has rendered the buildings of interest to visitors.

The order adopted in describing the ancient sites is based on the railway system; for with few exceptions the site to be visited is most easily reached from the nearest station. The Iraq Railways offer special facilities for parties of visitors, and rest-houses at Hillah Station and Ur Junction provide sleeping accommodation and meals at reasonable rates. It is recommended that, after seeing the places of archæological interest in the vicinity of Baghdad, the visitor make a tour of Babylonia, leaving the train at the various stations on the line to Basra. He should then return to Baghdad and from there make a similar tour of the ancient cities of Assyria.

In conclusion, I wish to express my thanks to the British Museum and Philadelphia Museum Joint Expedition to Ur and to the H. Weld (for Oxford) and Field Museum, Chicago, Expedition to Kish for kind permission to use photographs, and to the latter for access to the air map of the site, from which the plan of Kish, has been made. The map of Assyria and Babylonia and the plan of Babylon have been

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adapted from the Cambridge Ancient History and
the official Guide Note to the Ruins of Babylon,
to which also my acknowledgments are due.

D. M.

HINTS TO INTENDING VISITORS.

For the comfort of those about to visit Iraq, I would offer the following suggestions :—

1. The best seasons for travel in Iraq are from the middle of October to the middle of December and from the middle of February to the middle of April. Between those periods there is often a considerable amount of rain, which turns the alluvial soil of the country into a particularly glutinous mud, and the nights are frequently very cold.

2. A valise with pillow, rugs and a thin mattress that can easily be rolled up, is almost a *sine qua non*. In outlying places there are only khans and station waiting-rooms for those who have not introductions to local residents. Even in the latter case, the influx of several visitors at one time is apt to put considerable strain on their resources, though no praise could be too high for the spirit of hospitality which pervades the Arab and European populations of Iraq. A valise also adds much to one's comfort on train journeys, which are long and of necessity rather slow.

3. Suit cases should be used in preference to cabin trunks, especially by travellers by the overland route to Baghdad, for convenience of stowing on the running-boards of cars.

4. Warm kit is necessary for motor journeys. A start is often made at dawn, when even in the hotter months it is frequently bitterly cold. Evening dress will be required by those who have introductions to British residents in Baghdad.

5. It is well to be provided with small quantities of the following medicines :—quinine, aspirin, chlorodyne, boracic acid and permanganate of potash. A mosquito net is sometimes useful.

6. Unless camping out is contemplated, a large amount of equipment is apt to prove a burden rather than an aid to comfort.

7. For the convenience of parties of visitors, the Iraq Railways arrange, on request, for coaches with good sleeping accommodation to be detached for periods of a day or more at any station desired.

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† Road impracticable.

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INTRODUCTION.

In these days of so many immediate and pressing interests, the everyday problems of the ancient peoples of a far-off land can hardly come within the ken of any but the specialist. Their housing question, the problem of finding suitable building materials, fades to insignificance before the urgent needs of our own day. Nor can he expend much thought on how the Babylonians watered their fields or fought their comparatively puny fights, who lives in days which have seen a Great War. But since some slight knowledge of the daily life and difficulties of the ancients adds so much to the interest of their ruined cities, I hope the following brief digression from actual historical incidents may be helpful to many who have but little time to read.

MUD-BRICKS AND THEIR ADORNMENT.

The lower part of Iraq, from Baghdad to the sea, is one vast plain of alluvial soil brought down by the two great rivers. No hills nor rocks break its wide flat monotony. In this complete absence of stone, the builders of that region have had from all time, even to the present day, to rely on mud-brick to build their walls and branches of trees, coarse reed-matting and earth to make their roofs. In the hot sun of the

summer season, the crude mud-bricks, of which the ancients built the main mass of houses, palaces, temples and *ziggurats* (lofty four-or seven-storied temple-towers) alike, speedily dried to a sufficient hardness. But for additional strength, crude mud-brick walls were frequently faced with burnt brick, baked in furnaces of which the ruins have been found in the course of excavations. It was in one such, there is little doubt, that Daniel's three companions, Shadrach, Meshach and Abed-nego, were thrown. (Dan. iii. 20).

As on everything else, fashion has through the ages had its influence on the shaping of bricks :—a circumstance that has greatly assisted the archæologist in unravelling the history of the past. It has hitherto been thought that the earliest brickmakers of Mesopotamia favoured the so-called "plano-convex" type of brick, made by filling an oblong wooden frame with plastic mud and roughly smoothing over the bulging top of the mass with the hand. But recent excavations strongly indicate that in even earlier days thick rectangular bricks were made.

Whether baked or sun-dried, plano-convex bricks almost always bear some special mark, made with the thumb or fingers or even with a stick. And it is possible that this is the maker's private mark for the products of his brickfield.

As time went on, the plano-convex brick tended to become flatter and thinner until at the time of Sargon I. the country seems to have undergone not only a political revolution, but also one in the shaping of bricks, which thenceforth

were made flat and square. Sargon, a man of immense ambitions, appears to have favoured the colossal in other matters; the bricks and cylinder seals of his date are the largest known in the early history of Mesopotamia. In the period following the domination of the country by the Semites, plano-convex bricks were apparently made no more. Square or rectangular bricks of varying measurements, not very thick and less unwieldy than those of Sargon took their place. The crude thumb or finger impresses of the earlier Sumerians gave place to cuneiform inscriptions, usually recording the pious act of the king in building or rebuilding the temple of a god. Bricks bearing a laudatory inscription concerning the great works of Nebuchadnezzar II are found in practically every city of the Babylonian plain.

In a land of such uniform colouring as Iraq, human nature instinctively rebels against the eternal drabness of mud-brick. The gorgeous blues and greens of the tiles which adorn the modern mosque, the gamboge yellow and crude Reckitt's blue paint of many of the houses of Baghdad equally bear witness to a craving after beauty. In ancient days, the monotony of mud-bricks was also relieved in various ways, and perhaps with more subtle art. The expeditions at Kish and Ur have both found charming fragments of inlay work of mother-of-pearl and shell; and the wonderful frieze of bulls in copper relief found at Tal al-Ubêd is of extraordinary artistic merit. In later times brilliantly coloured glazed bricks appear to have supplanted inlay work. The Ishtar Gate at Babylon, impressive

even now though stripped of every fragment of tile, was originally a blaze of brilliant colouring.

That portion of Iraq, above Baghdad, which corresponds with the ancient kingdom of Assyria, is more fortunate than the flat plain of Shinar in possessing stone—particularly the so-called “Mosul marble”—with which to build. In consequence, the Assyrian builders placed their temples and palaces on great stone-faced platforms; and adorned the massive walls of sun-dried bricks in their palaces with sculptured panels of alabaster depicting the wars and hunting exploits of the king.

MOUNDS AND THEIR MEANING.

With the fall of the ancient cities and the removal of their peoples by warfare or other cause, their wooden-roofed, mud-walled palaces, temples and houses speedily collapsed—if they were not deliberately destroyed. Burnt bricks were stripped away and carried off to build later cities. Indeed, Babylon has proved a veritable “brick-mine” for Hillah and Baghdad, where in the walls of many a house cuneiform inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar may be seen. The sculptured alabaster panels of the Assyrian palaces produce lime when burned; and the peasant of the Mosul region has profited considerably thereby.

Heat and cold, rain and wind, and driving dust-storms have done the rest. The upper portions of walls still standing have been worn down; and every crevice has gradually filled up with dust, as recently excavated buildings are

already doing. Of lofty buildings nothing now is left but large low mounds, losing in height and spreading at the base with the passing of the years.

To the casual eye, all these mounds, whether of city, town or hamlet, appear to vary in little save their extent. But to the archæologist who visits them, the objects that lie scattered on the surface and particularly round the margin, washed out by the winter's rain or left exposed by the removal of dust by the wind, tell a vivid story. Fragments of flint implements or pottery sickles, painted potsherds, plano-convex bricks, all proclaim an early period. A portion of an inscribed tablet, a cylinder seal, flat rectangular bricks and unpainted potsherds of thicker coarser ware tell of later times; blue and green glaze and iridescent glass bespeak Parthian or Persian occupation.

Even during the occupation of a mud-built city, the progress of disintegration is constantly going on. And, as at this day when a mud-brick house collapses, it has always been the custom merely to smooth over the ruins and build afresh. In nearly every case the old lines of the walls were followed, especially in the case of temples, where reverence for the deity forbade innovation. Thus it is that in excavating an ancient site the archæologist almost always finds the remains of several periods superimposed, the oldest at the bottom. Clearing each level in turn and noting its contents, he gradually unravels the history of the site as he works down through its mounds. A vertical section through a particularly lofty

"tal" will clearly demonstrate the existence and frequent rebuilding of a city through a number of periods, whose characteristic bricks and potsherds appear in successive layers, the most modern at the top and the lowest extending back, it may be, to the very dawn of history.

ANCIENT CANALS.

Owing to the scanty rainfall and the intense dry heat of the summer, the inhabitants of the lower part of the Land of the Two Rivers have ever had to depend on irrigation for the watering of their fields. From the earliest times canals were cut—chiefly from the left bank of the Euphrates—which carried water far and wide over the rich alluvial soil of the Plain of Shinar. So absolutely were the Sumerians dependent on irrigation for the success of their crops, that each little city-state had to be ever ready to go to war with neighbours who interfered with or cut off the needful supply of water. Hence the history of Sumer is largely a story of the changing fortunes and successive rise to power of a number of constantly warring city-states. A glance at the chronological table will show how frequently the hegemony of the Plain of Shinar passed from one to another, even being held by some of them at several different periods.

The courses of the ancient canals can still be traced as double rows of mounds. Sometimes three or four parallel rows are seen—at first a puzzling circumstance. But when the constant

clearing of silt from a canal has raised the banks so high that the labour required to keep it clear becomes excessive, it is better to cut a new bed alongside the old one.

The most important of the ancient canals were the Nahr Malka (the "Royal River"), the Shatt en-Nil and the Shatt el-Hai. The first ran from the Euphrates in the neighbourhood of Sippar eastward to the Tigris. The Shatt el-Nil carried water from the river just above Baghdad in a south-easterly direction. It was probably cut when the Euphrates changed its course to the west, leaving Kish, Nippur and other cities beside its ancient bed without sufficient water for their peoples and their fields. South of Nippur this canal is named the Shatt el-Kar. The Shatt el-Hai—to this day in use—was cut by Entemena of Lagash to bring water from the Tigris owing to the constant interference by Umma with the canal from the Euphrates.

BAGHDAD AND THE MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES.

The last of the long series of capital cities that have ruled in turn in the Land of the Two Rivers, Baghdad for all its age-long history and importance is somewhat of a parvenu. The name Baghdadu only occurs comparatively late in the Babylonian records. Nor has the city any pre-Islamic remains to show, save a few masses of masonry whose bricks bear the name of Nebuchadnezzar, which are all that is left of the riverside quays built by that monarch. Throughout its earliest history, Baghdad was but a small town on the west bank of the Tigris, which flourished on river-borne traffic and was of little political significance.

With the conquest of the country by Islam, Baghdad came into her own. For Mansur, the energetic second monarch of the Abbaside Caliphate, chose the site for his new capital, and built his famous Round City there in 762 A.D. From that date the city speedily rose to an importance and magnificence under the Caliphs which rivalled her great predecessors, Nineveh and Babylon, Seleucia and Ctesiphon. Not only did Baghdad become an enormously wealthy centre of trade, whither men of all nations congregated. The brilliant court of the greatest of the Caliphs, Haroun al-Raschid, was also the focus of learning, wit and wisdom, poetry and the arts, to which flocked men of culture from every land.



[By kind permission of H. Weld (for Oxford) and Field Museum, Chicago.]

Objects in Copper, Pottery and Mother-of-Pearl
from a Mound at Kish.

The Baghdad Museum of Antiquities owes its inception to the vision and enthusiasm of the late Miss Gertrude Bell. For many years a keen archæologist as well as Oriental scholar of the first order, Miss Bell became Honorary Director of Antiquities in the Iraq Government in addition to being Oriental Secretary to H. E. the High Commissioner. With but little money and a single room in the Serai at her disposal for the purpose, she took up her task of building up a museum of antiquities with characteristic energy. Largely owing to the annual contributions from the expeditions working at Kish and Ur, to which Miss Bell lent such valuable support, the Museum has already far outgrown the single room and has been removed to more commodious quarters in the Government Press buildings in Bridge Street. It is hoped that later the Museum will be housed in a building of its own, which many would like to see associated with the name of Miss Gertrude Bell, as the memorial she herself would most have appreciated of her admirable and useful work.

ANCIENT SITES OF BABYLONIA.

(Arranged in order of convenience of access from the Iraq Railways and of their interest to the sightseer).

FROM BAGHDAD :—

DÛR KURIGALZU ('AḲER-ḲÛF).

By car from Baghdad, via Khadhimein or the Iron Bridge on the road to Falujah ; about one hour. For those whose time is limited, visits to Mu'adhem, Khadhimein and 'AḲer-Ḳûf can be combined conveniently in a day's excursion.

Though mistaken for the Tower of Babel by a sixteenth century traveller who saw it from the Tigris, and to this day called Nimrod's Tower by the local Arabs, 'AḲer-Ḳûf is really of much later date than the Nimrod legend. The huge mass of masonry which dominates the country for miles around is the remains of the ziggurat of the temple in the Kassite city of Dûr Kurigalzu. Around its base lie the ruins of the temple and the city. But no systematic excavations have been made upon this site ; and but little is known of it beyond the fact that it was inhabited right on into the Christian era, for Roman coins have been picked up on the mounds in considerable numbers.

It is of interest to note that this ziggurat, like those at Kish and Birs Nimrûd, was built with

square ventilation shafts running horizontally through the masonry and with layers of reed-matting at intervals between the sun-dried bricks. (See also under Kish and Borsippa).

CTESIPHON (ṬÂḲ-I-KESRÂ).

By car from Baghdad ; 20 miles. Via Hinaidi.

The great arch of Chosroes (ṬâḲ-i-Kesrâ) at Ctesiphon with its enormous height and span—121½ft. and 82ft. respectively—is one of the most impressive ruins of Iraq. Although but half the central hall and the façade of one wing of the palace of the Sassanian kings now stand, the majestic proportions of the ruin incline the visitor to lend a credulous ear to the many legends concerning its former magnificence. Tradition, indeed, would cover whole walls with precious metals and tells of numberless columns of silver ; even the Roman emperors are said to have envied and imitated the sumptuous apparel and court ceremonial of the Persian kings.

Ctesiphon first appears in history as a favoured camping-ground of the Parthian monarchs, which gradually became a great city and the rival of Seleucia on the opposite bank of the Tigris and but three miles distant. In 162 A.D., both cities were sacked and burned by the Romans, a blow which proved fatal to Seleucia. Destiny, however, held a brilliant future in store for Ctesiphon. After many vicissitudes, the city was chosen by Sapor, son of the Artaxerxes who founded the Sassanian Dynasty of Persia in

226 A.D., as the winter capital of his empire. For more than four centuries it remained the successor of Babylon and one of the greatest cities of the East.

The city reached the zenith of its glory in the reign of Chosroes II, but after the defeat of that monarch by the Emperor Heraclius at the battle of Nineveh in 627 A.D., Ctesiphon fell upon parlous times. And ere long a new and hitherto unsuspected power arose, and in 641 A.D. both Ctesiphon and the religion of Zoroaster were swept away before the impetuous onward rush of Islam.

SELEUCIA (SUR).

When the Macedonian Empire collapsed upon the death at Babylon of Alexander the Great, Seleucus, his favourite among his generals, eventually possessed himself of Persia, Syria and Mesopotamia (312 B.C.). And in accordance with his general policy of founding Greek colonies in Asia on the lines of the Grecian cities, he established Seleucia on the right bank of the Tigris, twenty miles south of the modern Baghdad. This city, which grew to considerable importance and was for long the chief city of the country, was eventually taken by the Parthians in 140 B.C. But it still retained the characteristics of a typical Greek colony, though its influence gradually waned before the rising power of the rival city of Ctesiphon on the opposite bank of the river. Seleucia never recovered from the terrible Roman visitation of 162 A.D., when it was sacked and

burned and half its population was massacred. Nothing now remains of the once wealthy and important city save a few insignificant mounds that are little worthy of a visit.

AGADE (?) (TAL ED-DEIR).

By car from Baghdad; about 16 miles. Sippar can be seen on the same excursion.

The ruins of Ed-Deir on the north bank of the Yusifiyah Canal and south-west of Baghdad have been identified by Professor Langdon with Agade, the fortress-capital built by Sargon I, when he founded the Semitic Empire of Akkad (c. 2752 B.C.). Sir Wallis Budge, who excavated Ed-Deir in 1891, is of the opinion that it is merely the remains of a residential suburb of Sippar, which has been identified in ruins lying four miles to the south-west. But the massive city wall, built as two sides of a triangle, of which the third side was formed by a great canal or possibly the Euphrates itself, together with the fact of there being but one gateway—at the western corner of the walls—certainly lends itself to the idea of a city planned and built as a fortress as well as capital.

Many legends grew up around the origin of the intrepid warrior-king Sargon, who from lowly birth rose to the overlordship of Western Asia, from the Persian Gulf to the mountains of the north and from Elam to the distant Mediterranean. The son of a lowly mother and unknown father, he is said, like Moses, to have been set adrift on

the river in a frail basket of reeds. But the goddess Ishtar looked upon him with favour and saved him for a brilliant future. Another account of his youth records his service as a gardener in the Sumerian city of Kish, then the chief city of all the Plain of Shinar. The story that he served as cup-bearer in the household of Ur-Ilbaba, the grandson of Kug-Bau, the woman wine-seller, who wrested the hegemony of Sumer from Akshak, though picturesque, is discredited by the exigencies of time.

Sargon appears to have made himself the leader of a large Semitic element in Kish and elsewhere in the Plain of Shinar. It is, indeed, a little difficult to see why he did not make Kish his capital. Though he and his sons appear to have completely abandoned the city of their origin, they used the title "King of Kish." Sargon, moreover, adopted the war-god of Kish as his and built a great temple, E-ulmash, to Ishtar. His grandson, Naram-Sin, found himself compelled to retake Kish by force of arms, and it is possible that racial hatred between Sumerian and Semite ran very high.

A great conqueror like his grandfather, Naram-Sin was also a great builder. Among other temples, he restored E-babbar, the shrine of the Sun-god Babbar (Shamash) at Sippar, of which mention is made in the Chronicles of Nabonidus, the antiquarian king of Babylon. (See under Babylon and Sippar).

The Akkadians adopted the writing and culture of the Sumerians and the mounds of Ed-Deir have produced a large number of tablets.

SIPPAR (ABU HABBA).

By car from Baghdad ; about 20 miles.

One of the four cities that according to Sumerian tradition existed before the Flood, Sippar is clearly of very ancient date. It stood upon the east bank of the Euphrates before that fickle river shifted its course, and was throughout the history of Sumer and Babylonia a city of some importance, especially during the latter period, though never actually the seat of a reigning dynasty.

To-day, the rectangular city wall with its many gates can still be traced, lying north to south. And one recalls that Nebuchadnezzar II strengthened the fortifications of this northern city of Babylonia against possible inroads of the dreaded Medes. (See under Babylon). The ruined ziggurat, E-ilnana-zagga, "House of the Threshold of Heaven", and the residential quarter to the east of the temple area can be located. The chief temple of Sippar, E-babbar, dedicated to the Sun-god Babbar, was restored by Naram-Sin, the fourth king of Akkad. (See under Agade and Babylon).

Enormous numbers of tablets have been found in the mounds of Abu Habba by Hormuzd Rassam, who excavated there in 1878-9 and again in 1880 and 1882, by native diggers and by Pere Scheil, translator of Hammurabi's Code of Laws, who dug for the Imperial Ottoman Museum in 1891. Indeed, Sir Wallis Budge estimates the number of tablets obtained from this site at

130,000. According to the accounts of native diggers, large quantities of them were packed in great pottery jars, like those used to-day for storing water, and neatly labelled.

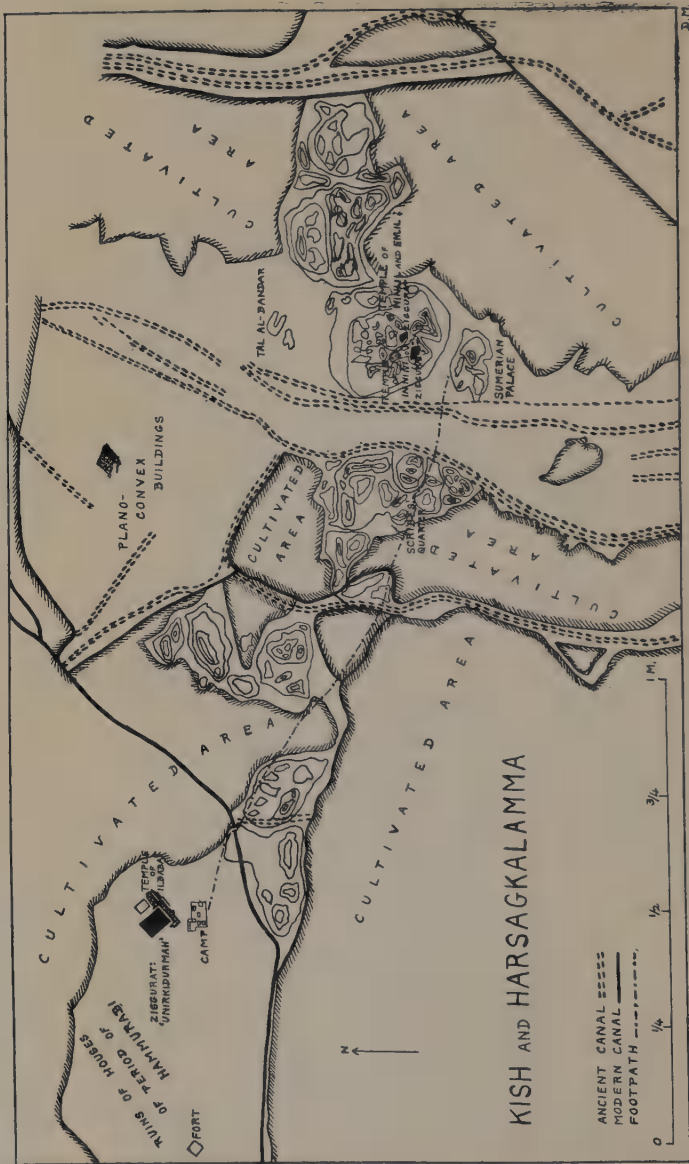
Other places to visit from Baghdad:—Khadhimein, Mu'adhem and Tomb of Zobeideh.

FROM MUSSEYIB :—

KUTHA (TAL IBRAHIM)—(= Cuthah of the Bible; II Kings xvii, 24 and 30).

By car from Musseyib or from Kish; about 18 miles by either route.

Traditionally of great age, Kutha, like Nippur and Eridu, was throughout its history revered as a centre of religious thought, but never attained to any political pre-eminence. The cult of its god Nergal, lord of the lower world, was carried into Samaria by the men of Kutha who were transported thither by the Assyrian monarch Sargon. At Kutha, it was centred in the temple, E-meslam, and the stage-tower, E-nannar, "House of the New Moon." That the cult was held in great regard throughout the land is clearly shown by the fact that Dungi, the second king of the Third Dynasty of Ur, restored both temple and ziggurat.



FROM HILLAH :—

KISH (TAL AL-UHAIMIR).

By car from Hillah ; 13 miles.

Nine miles to the east of Babylon there stands a great conical mound, which the Arabs call Tal al-Uhaimir because of its reddish hue. An object of curiosity to the travellers of many periods, it has now been definitely identified as the remains of the stage-tower, Unir-kidur-mah, "House of Admiration, the Far-famed Abode", of the temple of the War-god Ilbaba and his consort Ishtar at Kish.

The H. Weld (for Oxford) and Field Museum, Chicago, Expedition commenced operations on this enormously extensive site in March, 1923, by a thorough examination of the ziggurat and the temple, E-mete-ursag, beside which it stands. And speedily their long and variegated history was unravelled ; for with pardonable pride the kings of ancient days when they restored sacred buildings were wont to record their deeds of piety upon the bricks they used. One such inscription, found by Mr. Mackay, Field Director of the Expedition, states that Samsuiluna (2024-1987 B.C.), seventh king of the First Babylonian Dynasty, repaired the temple and stage-tower, that were built by his ancestor Sumu-la-ilu (2156-2122 B.C.). And we know that Hammurabi, the immediate predecessor of Samsuiluna, also interested himself in the glorification of the shrine. But the spade of the archæologist takes us even further back in history. For many feet below the

floor of the temple of these Babylonian kings a huge wall was uncovered, which must have formed part of a very much earlier Sumerian shrine.

Throughout the long and chequered history of Kish, the religious cults of its temples seem to have inspired reverence in all the cities of the land. There are records of kings of the Kassite and Isin dynasties, and even of Assyria, visiting and offering sacrifices in the temples of Kish and its twin city Harsagkalamma, though during periods of warfare and at the changing of the river's course the temples must have fallen upon grievous times. With the rise of Babylon to the zenith of her pride and power under Nebuchadnezzar II, the temples of Kish and Harsagkalamma were restored once more. But with unconscious irony the inscriptions on the bricks used for the purpose belauded the monarch for his work on the younger and rival fane, E-sagila, of the god Marduk at Babylon.

The visitor to Kish should first ascend the ruined ziggurat (Al-Uḫaimir), in whose core of sun-dried mud-brick he will perceive the evidence of the great stage-tower having been burned en masse, for even the mud mortar is baked. Air-passages, now the abode of foxes, pierce the mound from side to side. And between the layers of brick, sheets of white ashes still show the pattern of coarse reed-matting, exactly similar to that used by the Arabs of the present day to make their huts. (See also under 'Aḫer-Ḳûf and Borsippa).

From the summit of the temple-tower, now some sixty feet high, but originally very much



[By kind permission of H. Weld (for Oxford) and Field Museum, Chicago.]

Kish : Colonnaded Court and Façade of Sumerian Palace.

loftier, the enormous extent of the city is apparent. Its outstanding features can be picked out with the help of the plan. Roughly five miles by two, it can be seen the city of Kish was originally twin cities situated on the opposite banks of the Euphrates, which once flowed through the gap between the two main groups of mounds. The temple of Ilbaba with its ziggurat stood on the bank of the stream and rather more than half-a-mile within the western city-gate. The mounds that lie between the temple area and the site of the gate have been examined here and there, and have proved to be the remains of a flourishing residential quarter of the period when the great monarchs of the First Babylonian Dynasty restored and embellished the War-god's shrine.

The visitor should then drive to the ruins of a fortress-palace that lie about a mile to the east in the middle of an area that is conspicuous for its lack of mounds and looks at first sight most unpromising. Yet on this very site, about two days after rain has fallen, several large buildings map themselves out upon the soil with startling clearness. Owing to the different rates of drying of ancient mud-brick and the earth around, one can trace out rooms and passages, nay, even doorways and recesses.

The palace has not been completely excavated, but it has already proved of extraordinary interest. At first sight the visitor may be disappointed at the scene of apparent desolation. But let him explore the eastern side of the building and he will find an underground passage running parallel with and just outside the fourteen-feet thick

fortress wall. Probably the oldest passage of the kind that is known, it presents possibilities of adventure and romance that appeal enormously to the child that survives in most of us all through life. Though the length of two hundred feet has been excavated, neither end has yet been found. The bases of round towers, a well within the courtyard, bitumen-lined bathroom and drains, raised daïses, layers of ashes that indicate the sacking and burning of the palace at more than one period—all are to be seen among the monotonous heaps of débris. With little effort, we can conjure up the ancient scenes of splendour and romance, warfare and death, that once took place in that curiously desolate spot.

The visitor should next turn almost due south to see the buildings that have been excavated in the group of lofty mounds, named by the local Arabs Ingharra and known of old as Harsagkalamma. There are two ziggurats here and at least two temples, a vast fortress-palace, and other buildings whose nature has not yet been determined. The first to be inspected is a great temple, only partially cleared at present, whose walls still stand eighteen feet high in places. Restored by Nebuchadnezzar II in the sixth century B.C., it has clearly been repaired on more than one occasion before. In fact, there is good reason to believe that the original shrine dates back to a very early period indeed, and that it may even have been pre-Sumerian. Though no positive evidence has yet been discovered concerning the deities to whom the temples of Harsagkalamma were dedicated, it is probable that

this temple, E-harsagkalamma, and the larger of the two ziggurats belonged to the cult of Innini, the Sumerian prototype of Ishtar.

From the fact that the cores of both ziggurats are built of plano-convex bricks, they must have been standing at the time of the rise of Sargon I and the Kingdom of Akkad. For with the subjugation of the Sumerian by the Semite, plano-convex bricks ceased to be used. The larger ziggurat, it has been found, was actually restored by Sargon himself and re-faced with the huge square bricks that he favoured.

Passing round the two ziggurats, the visitor comes upon a building that was excavated by M. Genouillac in 1912. That it too was restored on more than one occasion is clearly shown by the different types of brickwork in its still lofty walls. Pending confirmation by further excavation, it is thought that this building is part of the great Temple of (?) Innini, and that the temple to which the smaller ziggurat belongs is situated in large adjacent mounds.

A short distance to the south of this temple area, a jumble of mounds of débris marks the site of the remarkable fortress-palace of the kings of Kish, possibly of the Second Dynasty, which was built and added to and abandoned before 3,000 B.C. Straying over the mounds, the visitor will suddenly find himself in a vast courtyard before a façade of remarkable impressiveness, where a wide shallow stairway of fourteen steps has been unearthed. Now only mud-brick is left, but it must originally have been covered with some harder material, possibly copper, of which

the Sumerians appear to have obtained plentiful supplies. The colonnade along one side of the court must have been extraordinarily impressive. There is little doubt that its huge pillars were encased in metal, or possibly in inlay-work of mother-of-pearl, shell and sculptured limestone, similar to that of which fragments of remarkable beauty and interest have been found in the adjacent rooms. (Cp. inlay-work at Tal al-Ubêd).

To the trained eye this vast palace was clearly sacked and burned—probably at the fall of the dynasty that added the colonnaded southern wing. Evidence there is in plenty of the strenuous defence that was made from room to room, with barricades hastily thrown up here and there after the breaching of its towered and embattlemented walls.

A small limestone tablet found in one of the rooms and now in the Baghdad Museum bears the oldest known form of Sumerian writing. Its pictographic signs date from a period earlier than the palace, and it had probably been kept as a kind of heirloom—or convenient hammer-stone.

Before leaving this interesting site, a visit should be made to the ruined Scribes' Quarter, a quarter of a mile west of the palace. There, large numbers of literary, grammatical and liturgical tablets have been found in the ruins of houses of the Isin and Neo-Babylonian periods. Several tablets ruled out in the manner of modern copy-books, some of them thrown down in the narrow lanes, serve to remind us that even in those far-off days small boys went unwillingly to school.

BABYLON

0 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{3}{4}$ 1 M.

BABIL MOUND

BAGHDAD 54 M.

NAHR EN-NIL

OUTER CITY WALL AND MOAT

RAILWAY

RIVER EUPHRATES

ANCIENT QUAYS

HUMAIRAH MOUND

TEMPLE OF MIN-MAKH

KASH MOUND

ISHTAR GATE

GREEK THEATRE

TEMPLE OF ISHTAR

MAR KAH MOUND

TOWER OF BABEL

TEMPLE OF MARDUK

SITE OF BRIDGE

JUMJUMAH

TO MILAH

NAHR WARDIYAN

ROAD ——— TRACK ——— FOOTPATH ——— ANCIENT CANAL ———

Beyond the temple-complex of Harsagkamma, a large area of mounds extends away to the eastern confines of the city. These probably represent a vast residential quarter, which clearly shows signs of habitation right on into the Persian and Parthian periods. But no systematic work has yet been done in this region.

Some very interesting results have been obtained from the excavations recently made by Professor Langdon, Director of the Expedition at Kish, at a site, JEMDET NASR, fifteen miles to the north-east. These ruins, indeed, appear to date from a pre-Sumerian epoch. The bricks are rectangular, yet quite different from the forms of brick which followed on the plano-convex type. And the painted pottery is comparable with the very early forms found at Susa and Musyan in Elam.

BABILU (BABIL)—(= Babylon of the Bible ; II Kings xvii, 30 ; Dan. iv. 30 ; etc.).

By Car from Baghdad ; 54 miles. Or from Hillah ; 3 miles.

“They say the Lion and the Lizard keep
The Courts where Jamshyd gloried
And drank deep.”

No ancient site brings the words of the Persian poet so vividly to mind as does Babylon with its wide and weary desolation of monotonously drab mud-brick. Though the Mesopotamian lion is now extinct—Layard was presented with two

of the last of the race by the Turkish Governor of Hillah in the middle of last century,—the hyæna and the fox do duty for him. And little desert lizards scuttle over the dusty mounds.

But once the mind can break through the barrier of present impressions and throw itself back to the days of Babylon's greatest glory and magnificence under Nebuchadnezzar II, the vast mud-brick masses acquire vivid interest and even something of colour.

To those who are making a first visit to Babylon, the wide expanse of ruins, all much alike in shape and colour, appears somewhat confusing. It is suggested, therefore, that the tour of the ancient city should be begun at Kuwairish, the modern Arab village on the river bank, where the German excavator, Dr. Robert Koldewy, made his home during the years of patient work that he did from 1899 until the outbreak of the war. Immediately to the east of the village is the Kasr mound, wherein lie the chief buildings of the great city that Nebuchadnezzar almost entirely rebuilt for the glorification of his might and majesty (Dan. vi, 30). A track leads up the northern face of the mound past the north-western corner of the inner city-wall to where the famous Lion of Babylon, an immense basalt figure standing over a prostrate man, is seen on a little eminence among reedy pools of water.

Near by is seen the beginning of the Sacred Way, the high-level road, originally paved with huge flags of limestone, along which the gods were borne in solemn procession each New Year's Day to the Temple of Marduk, Babylon's chief



Photo by]

[Underwood

The Lion of Babylon.

shrine, E-sagila. On either hand strange life-sized monsters, lions, bulls and mythical beasts, adorned the walls, picked out in brilliant colours in the glazed brickwork at which the Babylonian craftsman excelled. On the right lay palace buildings, on the left the Temple of Nin-Makh, the Mother-Goddess, to whom votive figures of Mother and Child were offered by women who desired the gift of a son. Passing through the Ishtar Gate, beautiful and impressive even in its present despoiled condition, note should be taken of its unusual structure. Really a double gateway, for the inner wall of the city was a double one, it contains a kind of central court formed by the building of cross-walls on either side. It has been suggested that the lions into whose den Daniel was thrown were perhaps kept in the moat within the double wall (Dan. vi, 16). The Ishtar Gate is also two-storied. The Sacred Way passed through its upper part, whereon the life-sized animals carved in bold and skilful low relief were once brilliantly enamelled. The lower storey corresponded with rooms and passages below the earth, very similar to the "serdabs," in which the people of Iraq to-day live partly underground to avoid the burning heat of the summer sun. This portion of the gate, though also decorated with animals in relief, appears never to have been coloured.

The whole of the Kasr mound south of the Ishtar Gate and wall is a maze-like mass of crumbling masonry, in which it is difficult to see any plan. But this is the site of the palaces of Nabupolassar and his more famous grandson,

Nebuchadnezzar II. Here the Germans painstakingly worked out the ground-plan of court after court and multitudes of surrounding rooms. Here too they claim that the famous "Hanging Gardens", one of the Seven Wonders of the World, once stood, and the Throne Room of Nebuchadnezzar, on whose walls Belshazzar saw the writing of the hand of fate (Dan. v, 5) before the taking of the city by Cyrus the Persian (539 B.C.). But little remains to indicate these splendours of Babylon's great days, save only the spring of the arches which once bore a heavy superstructure and the outline of a hall whose walls have long since crumbled to dust.

Beyond the palace, the Sacred Way slopes gradually down from its high level, and passing the Temple of Ishtar and the Markaz mound, the ruins of a residential quarter of several periods, on the left, it turns at right angles towards the Amran mound. Here in a great jumble of mud-brick and débris, the German excavators were able to trace the ground-plan of E-sagila, the Temple of the great god Marduk. But nothing remains to recall the glory of the shrine in which Hammurabi (2067-2025 B.C.) caused his Code of Laws to be engraved on a huge stone stele, and where seventeen centuries later Alexander's generals conferred after the death of their great leader. To the north of the temple, all that is left of Entemen-Anki, "House of the Foundation-Stone of Heaven and Earth", the great seven-staged Tower of Babel, lies, curiously enough, at the bottom of a large hole, which in the winter season is partly filled with water.

From the Temple of Marduk, a track leads to the site of the bridge, which connected the two portions of Babylon on the opposite banks of the river. The bases of its piers can still be seen in holes in the ancient bed of the river immediately to the west of the Amran mound. From the top of the mound, the visitor will be able to form an impression of the general lie of ruins. He should then walk to the Greek theatre, which was built about two years before the death at Babylon of Alexander the Great (323 B.C.). Unfortunately, little more than the outline of the amphitheatre now remains.

From the summit of the Humairah mound, a little to the north-east of the theatre, the lines of the city-walls can be traced. About ten miles in circumference, the outer wall was also extraordinarily massive. Indeed, so wide was it that according to Herodotus a four-horse chariot could turn in the roadway between the two rows of single buildings that lined the edges of the top.

The mound of Babil, which lies some distance north of the main ruins and just within the outer wall, is the remains of a fortified palace that Nebuchadnezzar built to serve as a protection to the city in case of attack from the north. Always fearing possible incursions of the Medes, Nebuchadnezzar evolved a very extensive system of defence, which included a great wall whose ruins are still to be seen fifteen miles south-east of Samarra, the fortification of Sippar, another wall running out in the direction of Kish, and also means of flooding the country around Babylon to keep an enemy at bay. (See under Opis and Sippar).

Of the history of Babylon volumes might be written, though the city was young compared with many of its neighbours in the Plain of Shinar. It is chiefly a history of wars and turmoil, of an age-long struggle with the city's northern rival Assyria, of sackings and burnings and the carrying-off of the god Marduk from his shrine. (See under Ashur and Nineveh). But periods there were when Babylon at peace was a seat of religion, learning and philosophy as well as the meeting-place of the merchants of many lands. And of these, three stand out pre-eminently.

The First Dynasty of Babylon, of whose buildings practically no traces are left, was chiefly notable for the reign of the great Hammurabi, whose Code of Laws marks one of the greatest steps in the onward march of civilisation.

The Pashē Dynasty (1169-1101 B.C.) was the next period of Babylonian supremacy, culminating in the reign of the first Nebuchadnezzar. This monarch rose clear above the dull mediocrity of the Kassite kings, who had reigned for well nigh six centuries at Babylon, unable to make any headway against the crushing rivalry of their northern neighbours of Assyria. The Pashē Dynasty fell, however, before the energy of the first Tiglath-pileser (See under Ashur), and both states succumbed for nearly two centuries before the pressure of Aramaean invaders from the north.

The Neo-Babylonian Empire, founded in 625 B.C. by Nabopolassar, the Chaldaean, reached the zenith of its power on the fall of Nineveh before the combined attack of Medes and Chaldeans (606 B.C.). Nebuchadnezzar II,

the grandson of Nabupolassar, practically rebuilt Babylon. But, alas, for his ambitions for his mighty city ; his successors followed other interests. Luxury and wickedness ate into the very heart of the empire that Nebuchadnezzar had built up with an energy that is astounding to contemplate, that included foreign conquest as well as rebuilding his city and restoring the temples of the gods throughout the length and breadth of the land. Nebuchadnezzar II it was who sacked Jerusalem and carried off the Jews into captivity (586 B.C.).

Nabonidus, the last king of the Neo-Babylonian Empire, though no warrior, nor even a politician, gives a distinct savour to an otherwise materialistic period. He was a man of strong antiquarian tastes, an historian and litterateur. His *Chronicles*, written at a time when the rising power of Persia should have been engaging his attention, have proved most helpful to the modern Assyriologist. He relates with pride how he found the foundation cylinders of Naram-Sin of Akkad beneath the corners of the temple E-babbar, that he built at Sippar more than two thousand years before. (See under Sippar and Agade). And while Nabonidus wrote, Belshazzar his son feasted, nor heeded the writing on the wall.

After the Persian conquest, Babylon remained a great centre of commerce and learning, rich and prosperous under the equitable Persian rule, until, in 331 B.C., Alexander the Great appeared out of the west and overthrew Darius, the Persian king, at the battle of Arbela. Upon the death of

Alexander in 323 B.C., Babylon sank into relative unimportance and was finally supplanted when Seleucus built himself a new capital, Seleucia, on the Tigris. (See under Seleucia).

BORSIPPA (BIRS-NIMRÛD).

By car from Hillah ; about half-an-hour.

The lofty mound of Birs-Nimrûd, crowned by a huge mass of brickwork, has by tradition been regarded as the Tower of Babel since the days of Benjamin of Tudela, the Jewish rabbi and traveller who visited it c. 1173 A.D. Local Arab tradition still weaves around it quaint stories of Nimrod and Abraham, and points to the strange vitrification of the brickwork as caused by the lightnings of the Lord's wrath. That the real Tower of Babel was the ziggurat, Entemen-Anki, "House of the Foundation-Stone of Heaven and Earth", of the great Temple of Marduk at Babylon, there can, however, be little doubt. (See under Babylon). But already by the time of Benjamin of Tudela, time and the brick-robber had left but little trace of the stage-tower at Babylon, and his mistake is easily comprehensible.

Around the base of the ruined ziggurat at Birs-Nimrûd lie the remains of the temple of Nabu, lord of learning and letters, whose image was borne in solemn procession on every New Year's Day to pay homage to the great god Marduk, his parent, in his shrine, E-sagila, at Babylon. And, as is customary among the Arabs at the present day, the host accompanied his guest on part of the return journey.

At various times excavations have been made at Birs-Nimrûd by Jules Oppert and others, but of no great extent. Under Rawlinson, however, baked clay cylinders were found in the base of the ziggurat which bear an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II. Here too that energetic monarch found scope for his amazing zeal for restoring the temples of the gods. As in the ziggurats at Kish (Tal al-Uḥaimir) and 'Aḡer-Ḳûf, square ventilation holes run horizontally through the massive masonry. And the tower was evidently burnt en masse at such intense heat that the bricks were not merely baked—they were even vitrified. In that vast flat plain, the burning of a temple-tower must have been an extraordinarily spectacular affair. (See also under Kish and 'Aḡer-Ḳûf).

Other places to visit from Hillah:—Najaf, Kerbela and Hindiyah Barrage.

FROM DIWANIYAH :—

NIPPUR (NIFFER).

By car from Diwanîyah to Afaj; 23 miles.

Then by boat and horse; 4 miles.

The imposing ruins of Nippur stand on the western bank of the old bed of the Euphrates, on the eastern bank of the ancient Shaṭṭ en-Nil. The city appears to have dominated the religious life of the whole of the Plain of Shinar from the earliest days right down to the Persian conquest. It was never the seat of a dynasty of kings and

seems to have taken little or no part in the political rivalries of the many city-states around. The shrine of the Earth-god Enlil and his consort Ninlil received offerings from the whole of the Sumerian and Babylonian world. The king of whatever state held for the time the hegemony of the land saw to it that the ancient fane and its ziggurat, E-kur, were kept in repair;—we know that they were restored by Ur-Nina, king of Lagash, as early as c. 2900 B.C., and by Naram-Sin, Ur Nammu and Ashurbanipal at later dates. The temple records and votive offerings to the god that have been unearthed at Nippur have proved, in consequence, a priceless commentary on the history of the Babylonian plain. As many as 23,000 tablets of the period 2700-2100 B.C. were found by the University of Pennsylvania Expedition to Nippur in the library of the temple.

W. K. Loftus dug at Nippur for a short period in 1852, but our knowledge of the city is chiefly derived from the work of the American expedition, which carried on excavations there on a large scale at various times from 1887 onwards.

ISIN (ISHĀN BAḤRIYĀT).

The site of this city has only been located since the war in a mound eighteen miles south of Nippur. Of its history nothing is known before the Third Dynasty of Ur, which it was destined to supersede, when the latter city fell before the Elamites, (2301 B.C.). The dynasty of kings of Isin survived with varying fortunes until it was crushed by the Elamitic conquerors of the rival

dynasty of Larsa (2169 B.C.), and both cities became subject states of the First Babylonian Empire. Again the city passes into oblivion, but evidence has been found by Professor Langdon on a recent visit that Nebuchadnezzar II restored buildings in Isin in the Neo-Babylonian period.

MARADA (WANNAH-WA-SADUM).

The Baghdad-Basra railway passes through this site 13 miles north of Diwanîyah and 2 miles from Khân Jadwâl station.

The mounds extend about two miles east to west and half a mile north to south. Nebuchadnezzar appears to have restored the temple and ziggurat; but little is known of the history of this city beyond the fact that it is mentioned on the Obelisk of Manishtusu, which was found by De Morgan at Susa. Systematic excavation alone will reveal what lies beneath the great masses of Neo-Babylonian and Persian débris that cover the mounds.

ADAB (BISMYA).

The ruins of this city lie in waterless desert twenty-five miles south-west of Nippur and an equal distance west of the Shaṭṭ el-Ḥai. But despite the difficulties involved, excavations were made there on a considerable scale in the season 1903-4 by E. J. Banks, at one time American consul at Baghdad.

On one occasion (c. 3000 B.C.), the city-state snatched brief glory when a dynasty of three kings of Adab held the hegemony of the Plain of Shinar. Its temple, E-mahk, dedicated to the worship of Aruru (Ninlil, Ninkharsag), was rebuilt by the kings of Akkad and later by Ur-Nammu and his successors of the Third Dynasty of Ur. Its four-staged ziggurat is one of the oldest in Sumer.

FROM SÂMAWÂ :—

URUK (WARKÂ)—(= Erech of the Bible ;
Gen. x. 10).

The ruins of this city of Nimrod lie on the western bank of the ancient bed of the Euphrates. They comprise three large mounds and many smaller ones, and the huge walls of Ur-Nammu, the founder of the Third Dynasty of Ur, six miles in circumference and nearly circular, still stand practically intact with layers of reed-matting laid at intervals between the bricks. The remains of the temple and its stage-tower lie to the east of the city. The lofty Waswas mound to the left of the temple is the site of the palace of the pre-Sargonic kings and *patesis* (priest-magistrates) of the city-state.

Erech is said to have ruled over her neighbours in the Plain of Shinar at five different periods. But the first dynasty of Erech mentioned in the ancient records includes the Sumerian hero Gilgamesh and Tammuz, the mystically begotten son of Innini (Ishtar), and can hardly be regarded

as anything but legendary. The city was always held in great reverence as the centre of the cult of the Sky-god Anu and the goddess Innini—also associated with the temple, E-harsagkalamma at Kish. (See under Kish). The excavation of E-anna, “House of Heaven”, Anu’s shrine at Erech, would doubtless produce most interesting results. No systematic examination of the site has ever been undertaken, though Loftus dug there for a brief period in 1854.

LARSA (SENKEREH).

But little is known of the early history of Larsa, whose ruins lie on the west bank of the old bed of the Euphrates, fifteen miles south-east of Erech. Though they were visited by Layard and Loftus in the middle of last century, no systematic digging has been done upon the site. Unfortunately, however, there is little doubt that this site in common with Erech, Lagash and many other Sumerian cities is constantly being subjected to marauding expeditions by Arabs in search of “antikas”.

The city centred about E-babbar, the temple of the Sun-god Babbar, lord of justice and divination, and son of the Moon-god of Ur. (See also under Sippar). In its ruins Layard found bricks stamped with the name of Ur-Nammu, founder of the Third Dynasty of Ur, who evidently restored the temple. Otherwise, curiously enough, we know but little during the period of the greatness of Ur about the city that was so soon to

supersede her. Upon the fall of Ur in 2301 B.C., Larsa entered upon a period of prosperity and power and was the seat of a dynasty of kings who reigned in harmony with another dynasty at Isin for well nigh a century. Then after a period of inter-city quarrels, during which the First Dynasty of Babylon arose, Larsa was captured by Elamite invaders, who made it a centre of attack upon Isin. And eventually both cities became subject to the First Babylonian Empire. (See also under Isin).

SHURUPPAK (FÂRA).

Mentioned in a Babylonian text as having existed before the Flood, Shuruppak can claim a high antiquity. Indeed, it was the traditional home of the hero of the Sumerian story of the Flood and the spot whereat the ark was built. Now in the midst of waterless desert, thirty miles north-east of Erech, it once stood on the banks of the Euphrates before the river changed its course.

The site was partially excavated by Koldewey, Andrae and Noldeke in 1902-3 with very interesting results.

UMMA (YOKHA).

Though of but small size—its ruins are only two-thirds of a mile in length from east to west—this little city-state seems to have had a very spirited career. On the course of the canal that brought water from the old Euphrates, later the

Shatt el-Kar, to Lagash, Umma appears to have constantly interfered with the water-supply of the larger city. Raid followed raid, and in the twenty-ninth century B.C. things reached such a pass that Eannatum, after administering heavy punishment to the recalcitrant little city, set up the boundary stone now famous as the Stele of the Vultures between the two states. He also made another canal. Yet we find his nephew, Entemena, still plagued by his inconvenient neighbour to such an extent that he decided to draw water from the Tigris in future instead of taking it on sufferance from the Euphrates. It is probably to this progressive king that Iraq owes the Shatt el-Hai.

With unquenched spirit, Umma gathered together all her forces and with disconcerting suddenness her *patesi* (priest-magistrate), Lugal-zaggisi by name, fell upon and sacked Lagash in the reign of Urakagina, who though a great builder and social reformer was apparently not a success as a warrior. Within a year, Lugal-zaggisi made himself king of southern Sumer with his capital at Erech, where he reigned for twenty-five years, during which he harassed Kish, until he himself was conquered by Sargon of Agade (2752 B.C.).

It is noteworthy that the hankering for more than a proper share of the water-supply of the neighbourhood is reflected in Umma's choice of a deity. For Shara, the god of verdure, and his consort, the grain-goddess Nidaba (Ninurra), were enshrined in the temple of the city, which was restored at a later date by Ur-Nammu of the Third Dynasty of Ur.

This site was visited by Loftus in 1854, by Peters and Ward of the Pennsylvania Museum Expedition to Nippur, and again by the German archæologist Andrae in the season 1902-3. But no excavations have been made there on an adequate scale.

FROM UR JUNCTION :—

UR (MUḲAYYAR)—(= Ur-of-the Chaldees of the Bible ; Gen. xi. 28).

From Ur Junction ; about twenty minutes' walk.

The great reddish ziggurat of Ur, one of the best preserved of the many temple-towers scattered throughout the Plain of Shinar, has long attracted the attention of the curious. In 1852, Loftus dug at Ur for a season. The following year, J. E. Taylor, the British Vice-Consul at Basra, found inscribed cylinders of Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon, in the four corners of the second stage of the tower and began further excavations there. The members of the University of Pennsylvania Expedition visited Ur on subsequent occasions, and the British Museum sent out Mr. R. Campbell Thompson and Dr. Hall in 1918 and 1919 respectively.

In 1922 work was commenced on a large scale by the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania under Mr. C. L. Woolley. And very soon the enormous temenos-wall built by Nebuchadnezzar to enclose the temple area,



[By kind permission of the British Museum and Museum of the University of Pennsylvania Joint Expedition.]

Ur: The Ziggurat and Court of E-Dablul-Makh, the Hall of Justice.

E-gish-shir-gal, "House of Light", was traced out and the Temple of the Moon-god Nannar located.

The visitor to Ur will most easily find his bearings amid the maze of buildings that have been excavated in the last four seasons by ascending the ziggurat, two of whose four stages still remain. As was the usual custom, it was built with its corners to the cardinal points; the remains of the stairways are seen against its north-west face. It will be noticed that, as elsewhere (See under Kish and 'Aḫer-Ḳûf), the temple-tower appears to have been burnt en masse, and it has been suggested that it was fired by Elamite invaders before the time of Ur-Nammu, founder of the Third Dynasty of Ur, who re-built it. On its restoration by Nabonidus, the ziggurat appears to have been adorned with glazed bricks of brilliant hue, and must have been a magnificent spectacle in the vast flat plain.

Within the space of a few yards before the western faces of the ziggurat, whither the visitor should descend, it has been the good fortune of the expedition to work out a skeleton history of the city over a period of some three thousand years. Clearing away layer after layer of ruined buildings, photographing and planning each in turn; the excavators have worked right back through history from Persian times to the very dawn of civilisation, when the first shrine of the Moon-god was built of pudding-shaped plano-convex bricks laid slantwise in herring-bone pattern. Above this work of the earliest dynasties of Ur they discovered the backward-sloping wall

built by Ur-Nammu, founder of the Third Dynasty, to hold up the great terrace, E-temen-ni-il, "House of the Platform he raised", whereon stood the mighty ziggurat. This wall of Ur-Nammu's making can still be seen, built of sun-dried brick adorned with shallow buttresses. Embedded in it at intervals were baked clay cones bearing the king's name. To the north-west of the ziggurat, where this terrace is over a hundred feet wide, Ur-Nammu built the House of Nannar (=Sin, son of the Earth-god Enlil of Nippur and brother of Nergal, lord of the lower world), the Moon-god, lord of wisdom.

With the rise of the dynasties of Isin and Larsa after the sacking of Ur by the Elamites (2301 B.C.), the terrace wall was re-faced with burnt brick by a king of Larsa, who rebuilt the House of Nannar a trifle further to the west. A large tower with a flight of stairs leading down to the lower ground beyond the terrace was built just to the north-east of the temple by Warad-Sin, a later king of the same dynasty.

Once more Ur fell upon evil times. Apparently as the result of a rebellion against the First Babylonian Empire, the city was partly destroyed by Samsuiluna, son of Hammurabi, and for long the Moon-god's shrine lay in ruins. Its rebuilding was undertaken by the Kassite king Kurigalzu—probably from a political motive—and the retaining-wall of E-temen-ni-il once more set up, but again further from the base of the tower. The temple, too, was restored, but now being on a foundation mostly made up of rubbish, it soon fell into disrepair. Though apparently patched up by

Sinbalatsu-ikbi, the Assyrian governor of the city in the middle of the seventh century B.C., Nebuchadnezzar II found practically nothing left of the shrine and stage-tower of the Moon-god but crumbling ruins and tradition.

With his usual zeal, the great temple-builder started on a grandiose scale. His enormous temenos-wall, double, and with intra-mural chambers and buttresses on both outer and inner sides, included a much larger area than heretofore. In addition, the shrine of the god was shifted to the north-east side of the ziggurat and incorporated with the great courtyard that, it is thought, had previously served as a khan for the receipt of payments in kind to the temple revenues, to make a great new House of Nannar, E-nun-makh.

The excavation of the other great buildings of the sacred area, E-gish-shir-gal, namely, the Gig-Par-Asag, temple of the Moon-god's consort Nin-Gal, and E-Dublal-Makh, the Hall of Justice, has shown that they also recapitulate the history of the city. They, too, have been cleared, photographed and planned, layer by layer, and the upper structures removed bit by bit to reach the lower ones.

The Nin-Gal temple of the Neo-Babylonian period—really that built by Sinbalatsu-ikbi, the Assyrian governor of Ur, in the preceding century and restored in places by Nabonidus—was discovered opposite the south-east face of the ziggurat and was entirely removed. In the latter process, a number of very interesting objects were found in the earth-filling below the floors, including

foundation-tablets of Gudea, patesi of Lagash about 2600 B.C., Warad-Sin, king of Larsa, and the Kassite Kurigalzu. The temple beneath was built by Kurigalzu on the foundations of an older building, probably of the Larsa period. It lay below the level of the E-temen-ni-il terrace and opened by a double gateway into a paved street, which running parallel with the south-east face of the ziggurat led into the courtyard of E-Dublal-Makh, the Hall of Justice.

The Kurigalzu temple has also been removed, and beneath it the Gig-Par-Asag, the imposing House of the Moon-goddess built by Bur-Sin, third monarch of the great Third Dynasty, has been laid bare. Rebuilt in burnt brick by the son of a king of Isin, this temple was a great square building, eighty yards each way, fortified with towers and walls twenty-five feet thick. Within this vast complex there are really two temples, separated by a series of smaller shrines, of which one was dedicated to Bur-Sin himself. Of the two temples, that of Nin-Gal herself is the more striking in design. Of particular interest is the finding behind the sanctuary of a temple kitchen. All the necessary equipment lay in place, stoves, pots and pans, bitumen-lined water-tank and grinding stones. A bronze ring set in the pavement beside the brick-lined well served for the attachment of the bucket-rope. Several other objects of interest were found in the temple precincts, but the chief among its treasures were evidently looted or smashed when Ur was sacked by the Babylonian troops of Samsuiluna.

But long before Bur-Sin built his temple to Nin-Gal, the goddess had had a shrine at Ur, for a votive offering by the daughter of Sargon, king of Akkad, was found among the temple ruins. A limestone plaque of even earlier date depicts the pouring of libations before the king and also at the door of a shrine.

The most interesting of the buildings that have been excavated at Ur is situated to the east of the temple of Nin-Gal and below the eastern corner of the E-temen-ni-il platform. The history of E-Dublal-Makh, both Hall of Justice and Shrine of the Moon-god, has been traced back through all the periods with which the E-temen-ni-il retaining-wall and the temple of the Moon-goddess have been shown to be associated. The building as it now stands is Kurigalzu's restoration of the shrine which was built by a king of Larsa on the foundations of Bur-Sin. And even beneath Bur-Sin's masonry, trial shafts have shown the presence of brickwork of still earlier periods. E-Dublal-Makh comprises two chambers, of which the inner, on a higher level than the outer one, lies actually on the E-temen-ni-il platform. And it is more than probable that the shrine, now closed in at the back, was originally a gateway leading from below up to the Moon-god's temple. There, in accordance with ancient custom, offerings would be made to the god and justice would be dispensed. When, however, a new gateway was opened from the courtyard of E-Dublal-Makh, the old gateway was closed by the building of a cross-wall and became a simple temple with an outer and an inner chamber

approached by a flight of steps. An interesting feature of the Kurigalzu restoration is the arched side doorways of the outer chamber ; one still stands intact and is the earliest known example of a brick archway in a façade.

Before the shrine, a great open court, surrounded by priests' quarters and administrative buildings, communicated through double gateways with guard-chambers with the so-called "processional way" to the north-east and with the street running past the temple of Nin-Gal to the south-west.

In this courtyard were found the broken pieces of a limestone stele, five feet wide by fifteen high, which is one of the finest known works of Sumerian art. On it the king Ur-Nammu is seen receiving orders from the god to build the temple-tower, and in another register he appears, in very literal compliance, bearing the mason's tools. Other scenes portray the king's prowess in warfare and as a digger of canals. But perhaps the most interesting feature is the winged angels flying above the monarch's head. There is little doubt that this stele was broken up in antiquity, probably by the Elamite invaders who swept away the illustrious dynasty, of which Ur-Nammu was the founder.

In the days of Nabonidus, the shrine was preserved and built up on practically the old lines. But the outlines of the rooms and courtyards of the E-Gig-Par, the convent of his daughter Bel-Shalti-Nannar, High Priestess of Nannar, were quite differently arranged. These buildings, after being duly recorded, were removed to expose the

E-Dublal-Makh of Kurigalzu below. The interest of the cloister which Nabonidus dedicated to his daughter's use—with admirable advice for her guidance in the new life before her—lies rather in the means she took to beguile its monotony. The finding of clay tablets bearing school-boys' copies and of others ruled in squares, either for teaching arithmetic or playing a game similar to draughts, point to her having taken up educational work. In addition, the presence in one of her rooms of a number of objects of widely different dates can only be accounted for on the supposition that the High Priestess inherited the antiquarian tastes of her father and organised a small museum. Among the inscribed cones, figurines, votive mace-head, boundary stone and other objects of Bel-Shalti-Nannar's collection, were copies of some inscriptions that had been found at Ur during the previous century. And these copies, it was stated, had been made "for the admiration of people."

Another building of note is the Palace of Dungi, E-Harsag, "House of the Mountain", situated on a high artificial platform in the southern corner of the Sacred Area. The original building pre-dates the reign of Dungi, and in the course of excavation several objects of great interest and antiquity were found.

(TAL AL-UBÊD).

By car from Ur; four miles to W. N. W.

This small but immensely interesting site was discovered in 1919 by Dr. Hall of the British

Museum, who excavated a portion of it and unearthed a hoard of copper objects, lions, heads and so forth, which had formed part of a great decorative relief.

In the season 1923-4, Mr. C. L. Woolley completed the excavation of this important temple on behalf of the British Museum and the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania conjointly, and proved it to have been built and rebuilt at three distinct periods. The extremely lucky find of a marble tablet bearing an inscription, "Ninkharsag; A-annipadda, king of Ur, son of Mes-annipadda, king of Ur, has built a temple for Ninkharsag", both dates the first building to the First Dynasty of Ur and fixes the deity to whom it was dedicated. A gold scaraboid bearing the name of A-annipadda was probably part of the foundation deposit. Of the second builder on this site nothing is known but that he used large square burnt bricks marked with the impress of the maker's fingers, but none of them inscribed. The third and last monarch to build on this site was Dungi, the second king of the Third Dynasty of Ur.

The most remarkable feature of the temple at Tal al-Ubêd is the adornment of the earliest shrine. Inlay work with animals cut in limestone and shell, raised reliefs and animals in the round in copper with inset eyes, flowers with calyces of pottery and petals of limestone, red sandstone and black paste, columns decorated with tesserae of sandstone, mother-of-pearl and paste ;—all played their part in the decoration of the shrine of the goddess. The milking-scene shown in the frieze

of limestone figures is particularly interesting as portraying the domestic life of the times. A large portion of these finds at Tal al-Ubêd are to be seen in the Museum at Baghdad. (See under Kish for similar finds).

Cemeteries in the neighbourhood of the temple contained burials dating from very early times, when painted hand-made pottery, flint knives and pottery sickles were used, right down to the Kassite period. Indeed, it is possible that the goddess Ninkharsag was connected in some way with the idea of re-birth in a future life.

ERIDU (ABU SHAHREIN).

By car from Ur ; about fourteen miles to the southwest. But the going is bad and the site entirely waterless.

Second only to Nippur in sanctity among the ancient cities of Sumer, Eridu was said by Sumerian tradition to have existed before the Flood. The discovery of painted pottery, flint knives, spouted water-jars and pottery sickles in its lowest levels certainly points to its great antiquity.

The cult of Ea (Enki), the great Water-god of Eridu, became general throughout the land. At Lagash, Ningirsu, the god of irrigation, and his consort Nina, queen of the waters and daughter of Enki, appear to have had certain symbols of the Enki cult associated with their worship. There was even a great bowl adorned with gold in E-sagila, the temple of the Babylonian deity

Marduk, the son of Enki. (See under Lagash and Babylon). Indeed, Enki-worship seems to have played its part in the religious life of every city of the land, although the parent-city of the cult appears to have been abandoned after the reign of Hammurabi. The shrine of Ea, E-abzu, "House of the Nether Sea", was restored in turn by Ur-Nammu of the Third Dynasty of Ur and Nur-Adad of Larsa. But the Kassite, Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian rulers who bestowed so much care on the proper repair of the temples of Ur completely ignored the central shrine of the cult that they did not omit to maintain. It is hardly possible to avoid the conclusion that Eridu was no longer habitable after Rim-Sin of Larsa diverted the course of the Euphrates from the west to the east of Ur; he must have left Eridu practically waterless.

It is clear that Eridu was once in communication with the sea, but geological considerations rule out its having been actually on the seashore. It probably stood in the midst of a marshy lake which had an outlet to the sea.

Like other ancient cities of Sumer, Eridu had its myth. The fisherman-sage, Adapa, of Eridu is the central figure of a story of the Fall of Man. Summoned before Anu, lord of Heaven, for breaking the wings of the south wind which had torn the sail of his boat, Adapa was interceded for by Tammuz and Gishzida with such eloquence that Anu was placated. Nay more, he offered the gift of bread and water to Adapa that would confer upon him immortal life. Unhappily, Ea, who had already bestowed on him the gift of

wisdom, seized with jealousy of Anu, warned Adapa not to accept food or drink from him. And Adapa remained a mortal.

Excavations have been made at Eridu for brief periods by Loftus (1852) and Taylor (1855), by Campbell Thompson in 1918, and Dr. Hall in 1919-20. But the temple-library of E-abzu has not yet been found.

FROM NASRÎYEH :—

LAGASH, SHIRPULA (TAL LÔH).

To Nasrîyeh by branch line from Ur Junction ; then by boat thirty miles.

This very important site lies on the east bank of the Shaṭṭ el-Hai at about two-thirds of its length from the Tigris to the Euphrates. The mounds occupy an area of roughly $2\frac{1}{2}$ by $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles, with the main axis running from north to south, enclosed in a city-wall of which a portion west of the temple mound and the fortified western gate have been excavated.

The oldest part of the city, the mound Girsu, lies in the centre. In it, De Sarsec, the French Consul at Basra, who dug at Lagash with the support of the French Government at intervals between 1877 and 1891, found the famous storehouse of Ur-Nina (c. 2,900 B.C.), which was until the excavation of the Sumerian palace at Kish the oldest known secular building in Sumer. Though Ur-Nina is the earliest ruler of Lagash, of whom contemporary records have been found, the history

of the city goes back beyond his time, for in the oldest strata of Girsu fragments of painted pottery have been found.

The temple of Ningirsu, the god of irrigation, and his consort Nina, queen of the waters, lies beneath the northern mound. It dates from the period of Ur-Bau, a patesi of Lagash during the Empire of Akkad (c. 2,700 B.C.). In the mound of the temple-library, near to and south-east of Girsu, native diggers working in De Sarsec's absence found some 35,000 baked tablets dating from the time of Entemena (c. 2,800 B.C.) onwards.

Lagash has in fact been one of the most productive sites in Sumer and Akkad. De Sarsec not only unearthed several great diorite statues of the early patesis (priest-magistrates), but he found the famous Stele of the Vultures, which was set up by Eannatum near the beginning of the twenty-ninth century B.C. to mark the boundary between Lagash and Umma. (See also under Umma). He also discovered a history of the works and exploits of Gudea inscribed upon baked clay prisms.

Though the patesis of Lagash, with one possible exception, never acquired the suzerainty of the whole Plain of Shinar, they were often men of considerable ability. Eannatum, who cut a canal to separate the territory of Lagash from that of Umma and set up the Stele of the Vultures as a boundary stone, is said to have conquered Kish, Akshak (Opis) and Maer. But these victories, if actual fact, can only have been quite ephemeral. His nephew, Entemena, was clearly a man of initiative. Perceiving that so long as Lagash was

dependent for her water-supply on the goodwill of a pushful neighbour she could never really prosper, he decided to draw his supply from the Tigris instead of from the Euphrates. And it is to his brilliant conception that Iraq owes the Shatt el-Hai. Four more patesis succeeded him. Then arose one, Urukagina, who appears to have taken to himself the title of king. But, unfortunately, his talents showed a bent towards building and social reform rather than the arts of war. One fine day Lagash was surprised and overwhelmed by the prowess of Lugal-zaggisi, an able and ambitious patesi of Umma (c. 2,778 B.C.), who passed on to further conquests and established himself as king of Sumer (Third Dynasty of Erech).

The next patesi of note arose after Lagash had passed from under the sway of its powerful neighbour Erech and the subsequent Empire of Akkad. Under the mild suzerainty of the Dynasty of Gutium (? Hittite), Gudea (2,600 B.C.) appears to have devoted himself to literature and architecture; so powerfully did he influence the religion of Sumer that he was defied after his death. Lagash never rose again to a position of any eminence. After the age of Hammurabi she ceased even to be inhabited, and her ruins lay deserted until the Seleucid kingdom of the second century B.C.

Two suburbs of Lagash, NINA (SURGHUL) and (?) URU-AZAGGA (AL-HIBBA), some thirty miles to the north-east, were partially excavated by Koldewey in 1887, but both had been destroyed by fire and had become extensive burial-grounds.

ANCIENT SITES OF ASSYRIA.

FROM SAMÂRRÂ :—

AKSHAK, UPE (TAL ABÎR)—(=GR. OPIS).

Very little is known of Opis, which has only quite recently been identified in the mound of Tal Abîr, twenty-two miles south-east of Samârrâ—chiefly on military grounds, its relationship with Nebuchadnezzar's defences against possible incursions of the Medes. The ruins of his great Median Wall from Opis can quite clearly be traced in the neighbourhood. The railway cuts through it fifteen miles south-east of Samârrâ.

Akshak was the seat of a dynasty of six kings, which was contemporaneous with the Second Dynasty of Erech and the Third of Kish, by both of which the city appears to have been worsted in war. Eannatum of Lagash also claims to have subdued Akshak about the same period.

Of the later history of the city little is known, though it is mentioned by Strabo and other writers. It occupied an unenviable geographical position between Babylonia and Assyria, and must have passed through many vicissitudes during their long struggle for supremacy.

It was at Opis that Cyrus the Great defeated the army of Belshazzar, the son of Nabonidus, in 539 B.C., thus fulfilling the warning of the hand that wrote upon the wall (Dan. v. 5). Xenophon passed by the city on his retreat after the battle of Cunaxa and the death of Cyrus the Younger (c. 400 B.C.).

FROM KĀL'AH SHERGÂT :—

ASHUR (KĀL'AH SHERGÂT).

By car from Kāl'ah Shergât ; four miles.

Though known to fame as the first capital of the Assyrian Empire, the history of Ashur goes back to early Sumerian days. For several statues of the period of Ur-Nina, patesi of Lagash (c. 2,900 B.C.), have been found there. Indeed, according to the Bible, the cities of Assyria were founded by Asshur, the son of Shem, who left the Plain of Shinar during the rule of his kinsman Nimrod (Gen. x. 11).

Perched upon a spur of the Jebel Hamrin, whose base was washed by a lake formed by the damming up of the river Tigris, Ashur must have presented a striking spectacle in the days of its prosperity. From the ziggurat, E-kharsag-kurkurra, "Great Mountain, House of all Lands", the outline of the city can be traced out and the basin of the lake. The blocks of stone scattered among the ruins of streets and houses, temples, fortifications, walls and riverside quays will remind the visitor that he has now left the Plain of Shinar, and that the Assyrian had other materials than mud-brick alone wherewith to build.

Sir Henry Layard examined the site in 1846, and Rassam, his energetic assistant, dug there in 1853 and 1878. But it is to the German Orient Society, which began work there in 1902 under Andrae, that we owe most of our knowledge of the city. The main street has been traced out, besides the outlines of palaces and temples. And

beside its paved way were found several fine stone stelae, inscribed with records of kings and high officials of Assyria's youthful days—the days when, in constant fear of raids and burning to throw off the hated yoke of Babylon, the Assyrians were cultivating those arts of war, which later they practised with such ruthless and relentless vigour.

The temple of Ashur, the mighty god of war, from whom the city took its name, and of Ishtar, his warrior consort, suffered many vicissitudes in the chequered history of Assyria. It was restored by Sargon of Agade, and later by Puzur-Ashur, the Assyrian king, who in the fifteenth century B.C., encircled the "New Town," Ashur's southern quarter, with a great defensive wall. Two centuries later, Shalmaneser I. (1276-1257 B. C.) once more restored the temple, which had been burned in a raid, and left the story of the ancient fane inscribed upon an alabaster stele. But none the less he transferred his capital to Calah, where he built himself a mighty palace in a spot more easy to defend.

By this time, Assyria waxing vigorous and lusty was ready for a trial of strength; and Shalmaneser in a series of campaigns crippled the power of the encroaching Aramaeans and took Carchemish and Cappadocia. One of his successors, Tukulti-Ninurta I, conquered Babylonia and carried off the statue of Marduk from E-sagila. (See under Babylon). The long dynasty of Kassite kings, thirty-six in number, was brought to an end, but the triumph of Assyria was short-lived. A new dynasty arose at Babylon (1169 B. C.),

whose most notable king was Nebuchadnezzar I (1146-1123 B.C.), and fortune favoured first one and then the other of the rival states until Tiglath-pileser I (1100-1060 B.C.) once more conquered Babylon. This monarch, who was a great warrior and penetrated to the shores of the Mediterranean, rebuilt Ashur and restored it to its former glory as capital of the empire—Rassam found inscribed cylinders bearing his name at the base of the ziggurat. But upon his death, both Assyria and Babylonia succumbed to the increasing pressure of the Aramaeans, and little is known of the history of Assyria until she emerged once more in the ninth century B. C.

Among the many interesting inscriptions found at Ashur is one bearing the name of a "woman of the palace," Summuramat, who seems to have been possessed of striking personality and influence. It is thought that she may have been the original of the romantic Greek legends concerning the fascinating and all-powerful Semiramis, who founded Babylon and made herself mistress of the civilised world.

At Ashur the Germans also found the tombs of several Assyrian kings. Their massive stone coffins were placed in brick-built vaults beneath the pavement of the palace.

HATRA (AL-HADR).

By car from Kal'ah Shergât; about twenty-five miles to the north-west. Rather difficult to find.

Of the early history of Hatra nothing seems to be known. It was probably a simple country

town in the days of the Assyrian Empire and after. With the coming of the Parthians, it was transformed into a fortress with moat and battlemented walls of immense thickness to protect the western frontier against the Romans. The architecture of the public buildings is characterised by strength and solidity rather than by grace. Nor is there much decoration, though an interesting series of sculptured birds and griffins and human-headed bulls decorates the inner walls of a hall in what was probably the palace. Yet these ruins, rising stark and bare in the midst of a great solitude, have an extraordinary effect upon the imagination.

When the Sassanid dynasty of Persia overthrew their Parthian overlords in 226 A. D., Hatra was destroyed and inhabited no more.

FROM MOSUL :—

NINUA (KUYUNJIK, NABI YÛNIS)—

(= Nineveh of the Bible ; Jonah i 2).

Across the Tigris from Mosul and not far beyond the river bank, there rise the mounds and long low banks that are all that is left of mighty Nineveh and the gigantic wall that embraced it in a circuit of twelve miles. The fourth and last capital of the Assyrian Empire, the great city was the centre of its culminating glory and of the wickedness against which the prophet Jonah was sent to preach. The immense fortified palaces



Photo by

Underwood

Nineveh : Looking S.E. over the Site of the ancient City to the Tomb of Jonah.

that the three great monarchs, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon and Ashur-bani-pal built each for himself, lie buried beneath the two chief mounds, separated by a little stream, the Khauser.

In Tal Kuyunjik to the north, excavations were carried out on a considerable scale during the middle years of last century. Begun by Botta, the French consular agent at Mosul, in 1842, they were continued by Sir Henry Layard, Rassam, Loftus and Smith at various dates, and by the late L. W. King for a short season in 1904. The palace of Sennacherib was discovered in the northern part of the mound and that of Ashur-bani-pal to the south. Little now remains to be seen save a few pits and trenches. What could not be removed was re-buried by the excavators, for alabaster bas-reliefs are much sought after by the local Arab—to break up and burn for lime. And Nature has helped in the process of re-burial.

With triple-arched gateways flanked by huge winged human-headed bulls and brilliant with glazed tiles, with sculptured bas-reliefs all round the lower portion of the walls, depicting hunting scenes and the military exploits of the monarch, these Assyrian palaces must have been astonishing in their magnificence. All the resources of the empire, in material and craftsmanship, seem to have been drawn upon to make them so. Though they did but little to consolidate their conquests beyond arbitrary transportations of great numbers of the conquered, the Assyrian monarchs never neglected to enquire into the natural and other resources of the invaded countries. Their wars, indeed, were little more than great looting

expeditions carried out with remarkable military efficiency and terrible exhibitions of "frightfulness." Even collections of animals and rare plants and trees were brought back among the tribute remorselessly exacted from their victims. The former are portrayed upon the bas-reliefs amid the scenes of warfare and of hunting with a grace and subtlety that are lacking in the human figures. And in an inscription on a six-sided baked clay cylinder, Sennacherib prides himself not only on his military achievements and his palace; he tells of his botanical gardens, wherein he even introduced cotton from India. "The trees that bore wool they clipped, they carded it for garments".

Sennacherib's campaigns took him much abroad. In 701 B. C., he invaded Syria after subduing a revolt at Babylon. He compelled the submission of the cities of Phoenicia, and passed on into Palestine where he subdued Ascalon, Lachish and many other towns, then turned upon Jerusalem. And Hezekiah in alarm delivered up to him the gold and silver from the house of the Lord as tribute (II Kings xviii, 14-16). But from entering Egypt the Assyrian monarch was turned back by an outbreak of pestilence in his army (II Kings xix, 35). Merodachbaladan of Babylon was next visited with the wrath of the Assyrian; he was defeated in battle at Kish and Babylon was sacked (689 B. C.). And the Elamites shared the fate of the Babylonians.

Assassinated in 681 B. C., Sennacherib was succeeded by his son, Esarhaddon, whose chief military exploit was the conquest of Lower Egypt

in 672 B. C. and the capture of Memphis. The sculptured bas-reliefs portraying this monarch's prowess in war will probably never see the light of day, for Moslem feeling is inexorably averse to the removal of the mosque which stands above his palace in the mound of Nebi Yûnis. Yet, by a curious irony, the mosque was originally a Christian Church, and Jonah's reputed tomb that of a Nestorian patriarch, John the lame.

The great palace of Esarhaddon's son, Ashur-bani-pal, has produced one of the most remarkable of archaeological finds. The monarch's library of twenty-five thousand religious, scientific and literary works, now housed in the British Museum, is of inestimable value. Imbued with a love of learning by his Babylonian education, he caused his scribes to collect or copy tablets wherever they were to be found. Those that were written in Sumerian, he caused to be translated into the Assyrian language. To his library we owe the Sumerian epic of Gilgamesh, the story of the Creation of the World, and the Babylonian version of the story of the Flood.

Ashur-bani-pal's military campaigns reached even further than those of his predecessors. In 666 B.C., he reached Thebes in Upper Egypt, and by the sacking of Susa (640 B. C.) he subdued the whole of Elam. But Assyria had overreached herself. To fill the ranks of her ever-growing armies, even the peasants had to be taken from the land. Agriculture was destroyed and her industries were in the hands of Aramaeans. The whole military machine toppled and fell to earth. While Ashur-bani-pal was pre-occupied with the

suppression of a revolt at Babylon, Egypt broke away. And not long after his death in 626 B. C., Medes and Babylonians combined and "that great city" Nineveh fell before their combined assault, the Assyrian monarch having consigned himself, his wives and children to the flames of a funeral pyre. Two centuries later, Xenophon and his Ten Thousand marched by Nineveh and knew it not.

CALAH (NIMRÛD).

By car from Mosul ; twenty miles.

In the British Museum there stand two winged human-headed monsters of monumental size, a lion and a bull, covered with cuneiform inscriptions and romance. The history of their discovery by Layard in the mounds of Nimrûd, and of the immense difficulties and thrilling moments he passed through in moving them down to the rafts, each supported by six hundred inflated skins, which were to carry them to Basra for shipment, is one of the epics of archaeological research.

Among the mounds of Nimrûd, winged bulls may still be seen here and there in the trenches that mark the spots where Layard and Rassam dug, flanking the gateways of the various buildings. And a gigantic figure of king or god, called by the Arabs "Malik Nimrûd" (King Nimrod), stands half buried in the débris of his city. But as at Nineveh, the excavators themselves and the kindly



Photo by]

[Underwood

Nimrud : Remains of the Ziggurat (Stage-tower).

hand of time have combined to re-cover and safeguard those treasures that could not be removed. In spring nature carpets the mounds with flowers, which, like the city beneath them, blossom and have their day and are no more.

The foundation of Calah is ascribed in the Bible to Asshur, the son of Shem, who wandered northwards from the Plain of Shinar in the reign of his kinsman Nimrod (Gen. x, 11). It may well be a very ancient site, but nothing is known of it before Shalmaneser I built himself a new capital there, forsaking the less easily defensible Ashur. Tiglath-pileser I (1100-1060 B. C.), however, restored Ashur to its former high position, and during Assyria's subsequent two centuries of obscurity, little or nothing is known of Calah.

With the emergence of Assyria from the dark age of Aramaean pressure, Calah came into its own again. Ashur-nasir-pal (885-860 B. C.) drove back the Aramaean invaders and himself invaded Phoenicia and Syria. He built himself a magnificent royal residence and temple on the ruins of Shalmaneser's—the so-called north-west palace, from which a wonderful collection of sculptured bas-reliefs, winged monsters, carved ivories and bronzes have been recovered.

The story of the campaigns of Shalmaneser II, Ashur-nasir-pal's warrior son, is told on the obelisk of black marble, now in the British Museum, that was found in his, the central palace, at Nimrûd. He appears to have completely crushed the rebellious Aramaeans and to have made himself overlord of Babylon. But his conquest of Damascus was probably the fruit of several

campaigns and by no means the easy victory he describes. One of the most interesting scenes upon the obelisk is that of Jehu, the "son of Omri," i.e., king of Israel, paying homage to Shalmaneser.

For a time Assyria's might seems once more to have met with a set-back, but Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 B. C.) retrieved her fortunes once more and extended his domains to the very borders of Egypt. To him Ahaz, king of Judah, sent silver and gold from the house of the Lord for a present that he might be saved from the oppression of the king of Syria (II Kings xvi, 7-8). Whereon the Assyrian monarch invaded Syria and carried part of Israel into captivity. Many interesting scenes of these campaigns were discovered during the excavation of the great palace of Tiglath-pileser at Nimrûd, the so-called south-west palace, including one of the battering-ram, which the Assyrians used with such tremendous effect against mud-brick walls.

But Israel did not remain a faithful vassal of Assyria for long. On the death of Tiglath-pileser the king of Israel intrigued with Egypt to throw off the Assyrian yoke, whereon Shalmaneser IV. king of Assyria, laid seige to Samaria (724 B. C.). The city held out for three years, but was ultimately captured by Sargon, an usurper, who in a successful rising seized the Assyrian throne.

To mark his accession to power, Sargon transferred his capital to Dûr Sharrukîn ("Sargonburg"), a new city that he built ten miles to the north-east of Nineveh.

DÛR SHARRUKÎN (KHORSÂBÂD).

By car from Mosul ; fifteen miles.

The great mound of Khorsâbâd situated on the left bank of the Khauser, the stream that flows between the two chief mounds of Nineveh, is an excellent example of the Assyrian practice of building their palaces and temples on a raised platform, thirty or forty feet above the main level of the city. The palace platform at Khorsâbâd was made of sun-dried mud-brick and was faced all round with blocks of dressed stone. It formed a T-shaped eminence, partly within, and partly without the wall of the city. And the triple gateway of the palace, flanked with gigantic winged bulls and gorgeous with tiles of brilliant hues must have looked most imposing at the head of the great stairways that led up to the palace platform from the city below.

Excavations were begun at Khorsâbâd by Botta, the French consular agent at Mosul, in 1843, and were carried on by Place. Room after room was cleared and found to be adorned all round the walls with sculptured alabaster bas-reliefs which give an extraordinary insight into the military methods and "frightfulness" of the Assyrian army of Sargon II. This monarch seized the throne in a successful revolt against Shalmaneser II, at the time engaged in the siege of Samaria. At the fall of that city in 722 B. C., he carried the Israelites away into captivity in various towns of Assyria, planting colonies of foreign peoples, from Kutha and elsewhere, in

Samaria and the surrounding country in their stead (II Kings xvii, 24-30). (See also under Kutha).

Like the other Sargon, from whom he appears to have taken his name, Sargon II preferred to build himself a new capital rather than adopt the city of his predecessor. (See under Agade). And he levied tribute of material and labour from all the cities of his empire to raise his palace in all the magnificence befitting his might and majesty. Unfortunately, the whole of the bas-reliefs within the rooms were so calcined by the fall of the burning wooden roof at the time of the destruction of the palace that none were fit for removal elsewhere. Those on the outer walls alone could be transferred to the Louvre. But many of the scenes that would otherwise have been completely lost were copied by the French artist Flandin, and are of immense value for the light they throw on the contemporary life of the Assyrian, his fighting, feasting, hunting and religious rites. Warfare seems to have been the breath of life to the Assyrian. He attained a remarkable efficiency in all its arts, largely with the use of iron which he learned from the Hittites. In one room at Khorsâbâd, it is said, two hundred tons of iron weapons were found.

ARBELA (ERBIL).

By car from Mosul ; about thirty miles.

This town is the only Assyrian site that is still inhabited and has retained its ancient name. Its

chief claim to fame is that in the plain near by, the Persian king Darius made his last stand against Alexander the Great (330 B.C.). The "tal" on which the modern town is built covers the ruined citadel, wherein Darius left his treasure when he fled, only to be murdered by his followers.

Other places to visit :—Jebel Sinjâr (Yezidi stronghold), Tal-Kaif, and the monasteries of Al Kôsh, Rabban Hormuzd and Mâr Mattai.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

First Dynasty of Kish.

According to a Sumerian record (the Weld-Blundell prism), Kish was the first capital of the country after the Flood, and the twenty-three kings of this dynasty reigned 24,510 years.

First Dynasty of Erech.

About eight kings, including Tammuz and Gilgamesh.

First Dynasty of Ur.

C. 3200 B.C.

1. Mesannipadda.

2. A-annipadda,
etc.

Inscription and gold scaraboid at Tal al-Ubêd.

Dynasty of Awan; another *Dynasty of Kish* (probably legendary); and *Dynasty of Hamazi* (defeated by Utug, patesi of Kish). Probably contemporary with dynasties before or after in list, though consecutive according to W.-B. prism.

Second Dynasty of Kish.

C. 3300-3200 B.C.

(Mesilim) (?)

Mace-head and vases bear his name, but he is not mentioned on W.-B. prism.

Second Dynasty of Kish—*continued*.

Ur-zag-ed	Inscribed vase.
Lugal-tarsi	Lapis lazuli tablet.
Enbi-ashdar.	Conquered by Enshaghushanna of Erech.

Second Dynasty of Erech.

Enshaghushanna,
etc.

Second Dynasty of Ur; Dynasties of Adab and Maer.

*Dynasty of Akshak
(Opis)*

2943-2849 B.C.

contemporary with

Third Dynasty of Kish
Kug-Bau

Patesis of Lagash

Enkhegal

Ur-Nina (2900 B.C.)

Eannatum (conquered
Kish and Akshak)

Fourth Dynasty of Kish.

2850 B.C.

Gimil-Sin

Ur-Ilbaba

etc.

Nannijah

Enannatum I.

Entemena

etc.

Urukagina

Third Dynasty of Erech.

2777 B.C.

Lugal-zaggisi

Originally patesi of
Umma; conquered
Lagash (Urukagina)
and Kish (Nannijah).

Empire of Akkad.

2752-2696 B.C.

Sargon I (conquered Kish and Erech)

Rimush *Patesi of Lagash*Manishtusu *Ur-Bau (c. 2700 B.C.)*

Naram-Sin (grandson)

etc.

*Fourth Dynasty of Erech (2600 B.C.) ; Dynasty
of Gutium (? Hittite)**Fifth Dynasty of Erech**Patesi of Lagash*Gudea (contemporary
with dynasty of
Gutium)

Ur-Ningirsu

Rise of First Assyrian Empire.

c. 2500 B.C.

Third Dynasty of Ur.

2409-2301 B.C.

Ur-Nammu (Ur-Engur)

Dungi

Bur-Sin

Gimil-Sin

Ibi-Sin (carried off by Elamites)

Dynasty of Isin.

2301 B.C.

Dynasty of Larsa.

2301 B.C.

First Dynasty of Babylon.

2169 B.C.

(16 kings)	Sumu-abu	(17 kings)
	Sumu-la-ilu	
(End of dynasty 2075 B.C.)	(3 kings)	<i>Dynasty of Sea-</i> <i>kings.</i>
	Hammurabi	
	2067-2025 B.C.	
	Samsuiluna	(11 kings)
	etc.	
	(End of dynasty 1870 B.C.)	

Kassite Dynasty

(Babylon)

C. 1746 B.C.

First Assyrian Empire.

C. 2500 B.C.

(69 kings)		(36 kings)
— — — — —		— — — — —
Puzur-Ashur IV		Kurigalsu
1486-1460 B.C.		
— — — — —		
Shalmaneser I	— — — — —	
1276-1257 B.C.		
Tukulti-Ninurta I		(End of dynasty
1256-1233 B.C. (?)		1169 B.C.)
— — — — —		

Pashē Dynasty of Babylon

1169 B.C.

— — — —

Nebuchadnezzar I.

1146-1123 B.C.

Tiglath-pileser I.

— — — —

1100-1060 B.C. (?)

*Period of obscurity under pressure from Aramaean
Invasions.**Second Assyrian Empire.*

B.C.

c. 889-884. Tukulti-Ninib II

884-859. Ashur-nasir-pal

859-824. Shalmaneser III

— — —

745-727. Tiglath-pileser III

727-722. Shalmaneser V

722-705. Sargon II

705-681. Sennacherib

681-668. Esarhaddon

668-626. Ashur-bani-pal (Gr. Sardanapalus)

Neo-Babylonian Empire.

(End of As- (Chaldaean)

625-604. syrian Em- Nabopolassar

604-561. pire 606 B.C.) Nebuchadnezzar II

— — — —

555-539.

Nabonidus

- 539-331. *Persian Empire (Achaemenian Dynasty)*
- 559-529. Cyrus Conquered Babylon (539 B.C.). Jews allowed to return to Palestine.
- 529-522. Cambyses. Conquered Egypt.
- 522-485. Darius the Great Rebuilding of temple at Jerusalem completed : battle of Marathon.
- 485-465. Xerxes. Battle of Salamis.
c. 400. March of Xenophon and the Ten Thousand Greeks
331. Darius III defeated by Alexander the Great at Battle of Arbela (Gaugamela).
- 331-323. *Macedonian Empire.*
323. Death of Alexander the Great at Babylon.
- 312-140. *Seleucid Empire.*
312. Seleucus became King of Mesopotamia, Syria and Persia.
140. Seleucia captured by Parthians.
- 140 B.C.-
226 A.D. *Parthian Empire.*
- 117 A.D. Roman emperor Trajan defeated Parthians and visited Babylon.
162. Destruction of Seleucia by Roman general Lucius Verus.
226. Overthrow of Parthians by Artaxerxes.

A.D.

226-641. *Persian Empire (Sassanian Dynasty).*

265. Oedenathus of Palmyra besieged Ctesiphon, but obliged to withdraw.

363. Invasion of Roman emperor Julian, who penetrated to walls of Ctesiphon and then withdrew.

627. Chosroes II defeated by the Emperor Heraclius at Nineveh.

641. Ctesiphon sacked by Moslem invaders ; fall of Persian Empire.

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